1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

[619]

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These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

*The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares*

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.
[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.
[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-60; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.
[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7



Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[56] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[58] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[59] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[60] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

*Linguistic Affiliations*

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[56] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[58] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[57] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[59] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[60] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[60] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7



622 In the seventeenth century sachems had limited power and authority and, incredibly in the eyes of Europeans, had no special servants, prerogatives, or the like.[118] Pastorius, for instance, in a letter written in 1694 said:

> These very kings go forth with the others to hunt, shoot the wild animals, and support themselves by the work of their own hands. They have neither servants nor lacqueys, neither housemaids nor court-ladies, and what use has one for a master of horse who keeps no horse, but always goes on foot? In like manner, no court-steward is needed, where there is no one to be cared for besides one's self and one's wife and children.[119]

In the seventeenth century these clan leaders owed allegiance to no higher authority; there were no tribal chiefs.[120] By the eighteenth century leaders had appeared who wielded much more power over larger groups. [619]

623 Despite the little real authority which sachems had, their councils were solemn, ceremonial occasions. Penn and Denton provide early and clear descriptions of how these men governed; their accounts are confirmed by a number of other investigators:[121]

> Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger *fry* in the same figure.[122]

Denton said:

> When their King or Sachem sits in Council he hath a company of armed men to guard his person, great respect being shown him by the People, which is principally manifested by their silence: After he hath declared the cause of their convention he demands their opinion, ordering who shall begin: The person ordered to speak, after he hath declared his minde tells them he hath done: no man ever interrupting any person in his speech, nor offering to speak though he make never so many or long stops, till he says he hath no more to say: the Council 623
> having all declared their opinion, the King after some pause gives the definitive
> sentence, which is commonly seconded with a shout from the people, every one 681
> seeming to applaud & manifest their assent to what is determined: If any person be condemned to die, which is seldom, unless for Murder or Incest, the King himself goes in person (for you must understand they have no prisons, and the guilty person flies into the Woods) when they go in quest of him, & having found him, the King shoots *first*, though at never such a distance, & thes happy is the man can shoot him down, & cut off his — which they commonly wear, who for his pains is made some Captain or other military officer.[123]

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[118] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 205; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; De Laet, 1909, pp. 57-58; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.

[119] Pastorius, 1912, pp. 423-28.

[120] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 128-38.

[121] Holm, 1834, p. 133; Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 92-93; Harrington, 1913, p. 211.

[122] Penn, 1882, pp. 244-45.

[123] Denton, 1845, p. 18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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No pottery was manufactured in
177 Oklahoma by the Delawares, although some of the aged Delawares re-
28 member that their grandmothers made undecorated utility pottery.
32 Dress and adornment had approximated that of the neighboring whites by the turn of the century. Men of the Cherokee-Delaware band, however, continued to wear their hair long until about 1920. Today, the only distinctive dress of the Delawares is worn at social and religious gatherings, and on these occasions it is of a miscellaneous Indian type rather than being specifically Delaware.

In sum, Delaware technology and material culture since 1867 have increasingly approximated the American pattern, particularly that of the poorer, rural, white groups. There are virtually no outward signs in subsistence, housing, or dress, which distinguish the Delawares from other Oklahomans.

*Sociological Assimilation*

177 It has already been noted that the social organization of the Dela-
571 wares had undergone considerable alteration before the final flight to
619 Indian Territory. Perhaps the most important change to take place after 1867 was the complete surrender of political authority. It should be recalled that the contract between the Cherokees and the Delawares provided for the admittance of the Delawares into the Cherokee tribe. Delaware chieftainship continued for a time, the last principal chief being Charles Journeycake, who served in this capacity from 1861 until he died in 1895.[3] After 1900 tribal chiefs were elected. Each of the three phratries nominated one candidate; the one who received the most votes became the chief. The principal duty of the chief was to act as a representative of the tribe in business dealings with the government. The last chief, Charles Elkhair, died in 1935 and has not been officially replaced. A business committee is the only formal governmental organization that continues in existence. It serves in an advisory capacity when there are claims against the government.[4]

The Delawares no longer have a society which is based upon ties of kinship. Outside of the immediate family there are no economic activities which depend upon the mutual aid of the clan, phratry, or other kinship groups. They have been completely assimilated into the American economic system. There is no feeling that care or assistance should be extended to other Delawares; in fact, in both Delaware communities there is a good deal of friction, jealousy, and antagonism between different individuals and family groups. This friction extends to all levels of organization, even to the business committee, with which there is always dissatisfaction. "They can't agree on a chief, they pull in different ways: if one person suggests something, somebody knocks him down" (O.A.). Probably this constant friction is a result of the heterogeneous degree of acculturation; some individuals are old, nearly illiterate, very

[3] Mitchell, 1895, pp. 7, 45. (This is a biography of the chief.)
[4] Wright, 1951, p. 153; J.T., O.A.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7



conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

*Religious Assimilation*

Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7



426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[328] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

painted a different color on each side, were thrown up and caught, the goal being to get as many of a particular color as possible; and another in which an object was hidden under one of several moccasins and the players attempted to guess which one it was under (Denny, p.265; Brinton, 1888, p.40; Loskiel, p.105). The vigorous dances engaged in by the Delaware were also noted although no early writer mentions (as Zeisberger, writing in the eighteenth century does) that dances were held most evenings that the men were not out hunting (Penn, p.38; Zeisberger, 1870, p.90). Later writers all agree that the Delaware were a sociable people given to frequent visiting and communal games and dances (Zeisberger, 1870, p.87; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.101-3 and 149).

This may be the most suitable place to mention the dogs kept by the Delaware since it seems most likely that they were kept merely as pets. Their remains have not been found in great abundance and in most cases where they were found they appear to have been deliberately buried. There is only one instance where there is some question whether the animal had been used as a sacrifice (Skinner, 1915, p.48; Heye, p.59).

At the time of contact, the Lenape were living in villages composed of several groups of families in the summer and hunting in single family groups in winter. The associations of families constituted bands, the names of which generally had some reference to the territory which they occupied.[10] In the eighteenth century Heckewelder reported a double division of the tribe into three sub-tribes, called Unami, Unalachtigo and Munsee, and into three genealogical "totems" which I will call phratries. The phratries were named Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, and Heckewelder equated them with the sub-tribes. He believed that the divisions had existed in the contact period also (Heckewelder, 1881, pp.51-2). Morgan, in the late nineteenth century, found that the Munsee, who are generally called the "Wolf-Tribe", actually had members belonging to all three phratries, and Harrington found the same situation in the twentieth century (Morgan, 1912, p.177; Harrington, 1913, p.209). The Munsee had a tradition, however, that the three phratries formerly occupied separate villages.

Both Harrington and Morgan found the modern Delaware phratries divided into matrilineal clans, the names of which were not totemic (Harrington, p.210; Morgan, 1912, p.177). The only evidence of totemic beliefs is a vague association between the turtle phratry and the mythical turtle in the creation myth and, of course, the phratry names themselves. The only evidence for the regulation of marriage by any social unit is found in Zeisberger who says that no Indian will marry within his own tribe as he considers himself too closely related to the other individuals in it. But his use of the word "tribe" is not clear so that the problem of which

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape



of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seising him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

## THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanquinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape



in tribal migrations which led to the settlement of the tribes in their proper locations. For, as we glance eastward from the Delawares and southward, likewise we discover the tribes to rate as nephews and grandsons of the patriarchal stem. I should not like, however, to stress the force of the traditional assumption of paternity that the Delawares lay claim to as being proof in any sense of the tribe being sire to those it regards as lineal or collateral descendants. The belief nevertheless has much ethnological value and has been disregarded by ethnologists without good reason. And since other tribes seem not to have retained extensive knowledge of these matters it has seemed important to record the text presenting the Delaware opinion of the matter. I have made some comment on tribal beliefs of consanguinity in the study of the Big House Ceremony and now the occasion seems ripe for the recording of the informant's own version of the situation with a comparison of the facts as written down a century ago by Zeisberger.[9]

In the following narration the information's tradition of the Delaware's imaginary relationship to other groups is placed on record. In the footnotes are included quotations from older authorities on the subject and comments by other living Delaware informants. The testimony before us brings out discrepancies, as might be expected when amassing data on a situation so involved with a tribal ego and the perpetuation of which is so dependent upon negotiations between the groups, associations which have long ceased to function.[10]

[9] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also Consanguinity of Tribes, in the "Big House Ceremony," p. 33. In the latter passage cited, an error evidently crept in, as the informant notes the Iroquois considered as "brothers" and the Seneca "nephews," while I find the Delaware chiefs designate the Seneca, at least, as "uncles."

[10] That these discrepancies have prevailed for a long time is shown by the observations of McKenney almost a century ago that the Wyandot claimed to be uncles of all other tribes, and the Delawares their grandfathers. But, he adds, the Delawares acknowledge themselves nephews of the Wyandots. J. L. McKenney and J. Hall, "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1844, III, p. 7. After comparing Wi'tapano'xwe's authority ("Big House Ceremony," p. 33) that the Wyandots are "nephews" of the Delawares it may be gathered that the Indians themselves have now, as well as in the past, been responsible for the existing confusion. Their inaccuracy is either a trait in itself or an aberration of one.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape



For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history.

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

### CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wa'ni· | lən·a'p·e | li·pəna·'ən | we·'mi· | enxake·'i·t' |
| The | Delaware | are looked upon | all | different tribes |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wa'ni | me·'xkeɔ'xku·i·t | tə'l·i· | ne'ka | ki·'k'hai·'n. | ahi·- |
| the | red men | that | he | is oldest. | Great |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kahe·'li· | xt'oxwi·'s·u. | wəla'haxa'ne | a'ləndе | awe·'nhak·e | |
| many | his grandchildren. | Although besides | some | wild Indians | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ha't·e | e·laŋgo·'mənd | pəna'' | wa'ni· | Ca·'wəno·[11] |
| special | relationship | such as | the | Shawnee |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| na'lən·a | ne·tami'xiŋg | noxwi·'s·ənа. | nawu'ndji | ekala·'mi· |
| that is | first | grandchild. | From that | on down |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wa'ni | Pote'ət·am,[12] | Sa·'ki·a,[13] | Aya'howe,[14] | Ta'ŋgowe,[15] |
| the | Pottawatomi, | Sauk and Fox, | Ioway, | Tonkawa, |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ca'hax,[16] | Pi·'kaxca',[17] | ɔk | Ki·'kapu,[18] | Maya'hame',[19] | |
| Sioux, | Ottawa, | and | Kickapoo, | Miami, | |

[11] Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

[12] Literally "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potatawatamiñk or Potawagamiñk, "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

[13] The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Osā'kiwūg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

[14] The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a'howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

[15] Associated with the Delaware stem taŋg—"little." (Tonkawo'ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

[16] Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

[17] Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ă dă we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape



619 Pe·yɔ'le,[20] ɔk ən·ahəl·i·' Tci·'pɔwe,[21] Mɔna·'mɔni·,[22]
648 Peoria, and besides Chippewa, Menomini,
539

Ci·li·ti·'xka,[23] Ca·epu'ci·,[24] Patu'xka,[25] Win·i·pe·'ga,[26]
Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago,

Wɔca·'ce,[27] Kąai·a,[28] Paŋka,[29] Oka'xpa.[30] We·'mi
Osage, Kaw, or Kansa Ponca, Quapaw. All

yu'kwe yu'ki·k ənxi·' wi·xk'wusi·'xti·t. yu'kwe yu'tali
these here each different named. Now here

[19] "Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapaw·, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

[20] Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 852.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuwe'tuwe*. The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuwe'kuk*, "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

[21] No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he asserted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piwar·, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

[22] The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to roast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Missisauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

[23] A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwok ininiwok, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

[24] No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

[25] Evidently a derivation of Nez Perce' as it sounded to Delaware ears.

[26] Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

[27] No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyägohag', "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

[28] Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

[29] Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

[30] No explanation given.

[31] No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

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Lenape



tələwi·'hi·la·wa'o yuli·'l lənа'p·eyo Wa·'panaxki [31] ək 619
they call the Delawares Wabanaki also 648 539

muxomsə'n·a. ka't·tci we·'mi ni·'maxtəna dəl·ə-
"our grandfather." But all our brothers they

wi·'lpo·na lənа'·pe.[32]
call us Lenape.

Yu'kwe nəwe'i·taxkənu'təmən wani·' lənа·'pe
Now I shall talk about, explain the Delaware

wei·maxtə'ə·i·t' awe·'ni· ako·'ta nanhe·'li· ge'ski·a'
their brothers whom not much I say as many

wi'hil·ak' wani·' Wəne'·'təko' [33] ək Mahi·'kan·i· [34] ək
can name the Nanticoke and Mahican and

Mu'nsi [35] ək ke·xa·'kei· O'pan·u' [36] ce·la'han·e de'nxi·
Munsee and several nations Iroquois and those as many

məca·'la·n ni·'maxtəs·ənа·'nuk. cuk' ke'nowi· a'p'tci·
I think of our brothers. But nevertheless always

wa'ni· lən·a'p·e tə'n·da ki'k'hayi'n. nawu'ndji·
the Delawares the very oldest. And thence

[31] A general appelation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

[32] Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

[33] Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

[34] No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 780.)

[35] No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

[36] Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term posk'oca·'a i·t', "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term me'gwaimo'sunas'si·t, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

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619 ha'·t·e pi·'li· laŋgundowa'k·an. axpo'wak et' ik·ali'tci·
648 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons
539 elki·k'·ai·'tci·k' weotu'xti·t' we·'mi· e'nxenaxga't·uk
living longer than I who know all different degrees

laŋgǫ·'sowa'k·an. yukwe'' tci·tc kexa'p'tun wa'ni·
relationship. Now then few words, the

Te·lma't·ən·u [37] luŋgɔxs·ə's·əna nahəli·' wa'ni·
Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the

Katu''hɔ.[38] ka't·tci· wa'ni Me'ŋgwe,[39] spa'nayu' [40]
Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans

no·'ci·ni·'nen kat·tci· wa'ni· weɔ'p'si·t' [41]
our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person

ni·maxtə's·ən·a ɔk wa' səka'xkwu'le·'s a'lənde awe·'n
our brothers and the black color person some people

lo'we· ane·'skə's·i·t nəxq·'səna ɔk nalən·a'n tə'n·da
say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very

tci·tanə's·i·n we·'mi· enxake·'i·t' awe·'n.
stoutest of all different nations persons.

*Free Translation.*

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following

[37] Literally, "along a mountain range."

[38] Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

[39] A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etymological explanation. It is current in recognizable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *mea'xkati'ne* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

[40] Literally "Spaniard."

[41] A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *s'pigg* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

## MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

### *Lineage*

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unâmis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tŏŏkseet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tŏŏkwaa* round & *oozĕĕt* foot) the *Tshĕĕkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelăăooh*, and the *Tŏŏlpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Shĕĕhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woondămee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalăăhtekoo*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woondămee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

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619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalāūhtekos* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekāāee, Aleekāāee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekāāee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekāāee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

[184] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first." Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

### *Chiefs*

643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

"Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

### *Food, Mode of Living, etc.*

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

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*202. Relatives observe mourning*

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

*206. Belief that bodies will be restored*

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

*207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased*

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

*209. Nations divided into tribes*

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* of Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

*213. Tribes are exogamous*

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

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of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Raccon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Visscher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 66.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, I., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'wolast', "to follow."

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619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tᵉkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'təkaŋg, compare also nahi'təkaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wəneᵉtᵉko (plural wəneᵉtᵉkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.